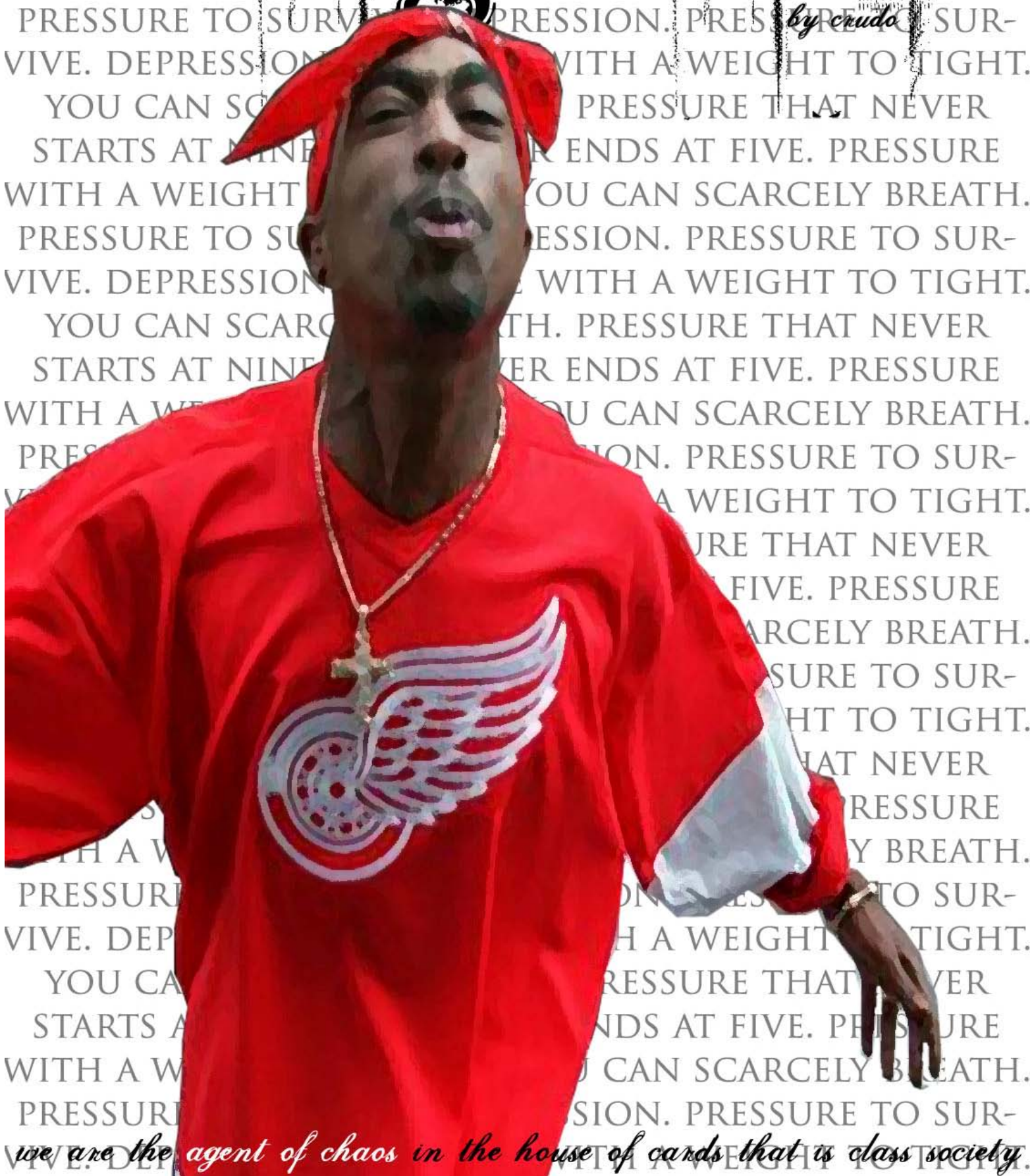


Vengeance

revolutionary proletarian culture

by *crudo*



**“Cause only dreams come to sleepers and my life ain't getting cheaper
So you know them dollar signs, they on my mind
When they ask me where I'm goin? I say you already know
I'm bout to hit the streets and go and get what's mine, I won't let you down.”
*Chamillionaire***

I almost didn't feel like putting this issue out. For a variety of reasons. I think I understand now why Wolfi changed his pen name from Feral Faun after too many people started becoming ‘fans.’ Not that I really have many fans, but the collection of text messages from friends, emails that I've received, feedback that I've gotten, or the fact that people read the first *Vengeance* in reading groups and the fact that I got invited to speak at the SF Bay Area Anarchist Bookfair, all give me pause. I really don't feel like I have anything really new to say; I just feel like it must be said. One of my friends made a joke the other day about me being famous now from the zine. I just rolled my eyes.

Being famous for writing a zine in the anarchist milieu is kind of like being well known for being good at Connect Four. Sure it's nice, but really it's not going to change much about your life. Despite more people having read my stuff, I still have to deal with living in a shitty house, having shitty roommates, having a job that gets me up early in the morning and bores the crap out of me, being stuck in a class room one night a week with a ‘pacifist Marxist’ professor who hates anarchists, and...let's leave the personal stuff out of this one.


So...this issue is probably a lot smaller than I hoped. I also wanted to write about female-bodied people within the movement and patriarchy in general, and I still really haven't had a chance to really write about race in great detail and how I view it's importance in an insurrectionary context. I stripped all the poetry from this issue. Some of it I didn't like, some was too violent and dark, and some was about a person that I care about deeply that didn't want me to reprint those poems.

In the midst of a depression, the work day, and a mild hangover - kudos to you dear reader. Keep your head up and bring da soc war.

Dedications: All the working class people who wrote me after the last issue and thanked me for articulating myself. Let's give the rich something to fear. To Nachie and Liam, for writing cool shit that I stole for this issue, and for being my friends. To everyone in Modesto Anarcho Crew (MAC), who continues to support me, roll with me, and be bad ass. To Ian Bone for the kind words. For Tundra. Mischief. Mischief. Always.

Disclaimer: This publication is completely for entertainment and is fictional. Nothing within these pages promotes illegal or violent activity.

Where the proles, where the proles, where the proles at?

A close-up photograph of a man with short, dark, wavy hair and a light beard. He is wearing a white dress shirt and a dark, patterned tie. He is looking down and slightly to the left with a somber or weary expression. His right hand is visible, gripping the tie. The background is a plain, light color.

"The mode of production that existed one hundred years ago still exists today, and this mode of production - capitalism - is still defined by the exploitation of labor to produce surplus value. The accumulation of capital is still the order of the day. The proletariat are still the contradiction."

- xDonx, *Total Destruction*

"The proletariat cannot create its own new form of power except by becoming the class of consciousness. The growth of productive forces will not in itself guarantee the emergence of such a power — not even indirectly by way of the increasing dispossession which that growth entails. Nor can a Jacobin-style seizure of the state be a means to this end. The proletariat cannot make use of any ideology designed to disguise its partial goals as general goals, because the proletariat cannot preserve any partial reality that is truly its own."

Guy Debord, *Society of the Spectacle*

Another day another dollar they say? Yeah fucking right. That's what it feels like I'm making, one fucking dollar. I think I've become a commuter, fuck this shit. I wake up at 6:30 nearly every morning and if I've taken a shower the night before I lay there for probably too long and by about 6:50 I'm in my car hurtling down the street towards the freeway. I'm then stuck in the car for the next 40 minutes, and depending if I get stuck behind farm equipment or some slow fucker, I'm usually late to work by about 5-10 minutes. This is my life, and it's ending second by second. I usually go to sleep at 12 midnight or about 1 AM, usually because I'm hanging out with friends at my house, working on various projects, drinking, or watching a movie. I also try and spend time with my friend who is dating one of my room mates and sense he works nights, he usually wakes up when I'm getting off work. The times in between our sleep and work patterns are some of the few times that we get to see each other. In the late hours of the night, we attempt to steal moments from Capital. Like it or not, our lives, how we live them, the time that we have to sleep, be awake, and do what we need to do is all structured around work. Even if we are unemployed, living off of dumpstered bagels and riding a train in the middle of Nebraska some-

where, we are still subject to the dictates of Capital and its force upon society. We work in warehouses, classrooms, and retail stores. We exist to move, to transport, sell, and reproduce the commodity based society. We often just think of ourselves as simply having shitty lives and jobs. We often pretend that a few more years at junior college will really make things somehow swing in our favor. We often just call ourselves "people," but history has called us by another name: proletarians. We are the agent of chaos in the house of cards which is this class society - for we are the contradiction within it.

The sweeping force of proletarianization across the earth is all powerful and grows daily. Indeed, Capital must expand and grow if it is to continue - as long as it exists, a genuine human community is impossible. No one from the indigenous peoples who face the imposition of mines and industrial development on their lands to people like my parents who work in somewhat secure white collar unionized jobs can escape the increasing push of both the physical and emotional poverty that is class society. And the new crisis of Capital is rising. As the ranks of the homeless swell. The ranks of those in poverty swell. The ranks of those displaced and driven from their homes swell. The ranks of the dead swell...The civilization of Capital seeks to encompass all; to expand itself from here to everywhere. The global Left has shown itself to be nothing but the 'loyal opposition' to Capital; meaning that it is loyal to Capital itself. The Left offers us nothing but more of the same - not even just a kinder gentler capitalism anymore, but a better, more structured, more 'green' and better organized one. The tune that everyone is now playing is that of, "Things are bad all over." It seems as if everyone now is impacted by the recession in the United States. I find it hard to not find someone who has not been laid off, lost work, been foreclosed on, had family deported or attacked by ICE pigs, or seen their standard of living decrease, or at least know someone who has. Everywhere the desert is growing. Everywhere we are all gasping for water. That reality is as clear as my bank account, the carcinogens in your breast milk, and the pesticides poisoning everything from the slaves in the fields to you as you eat the food that they picked...

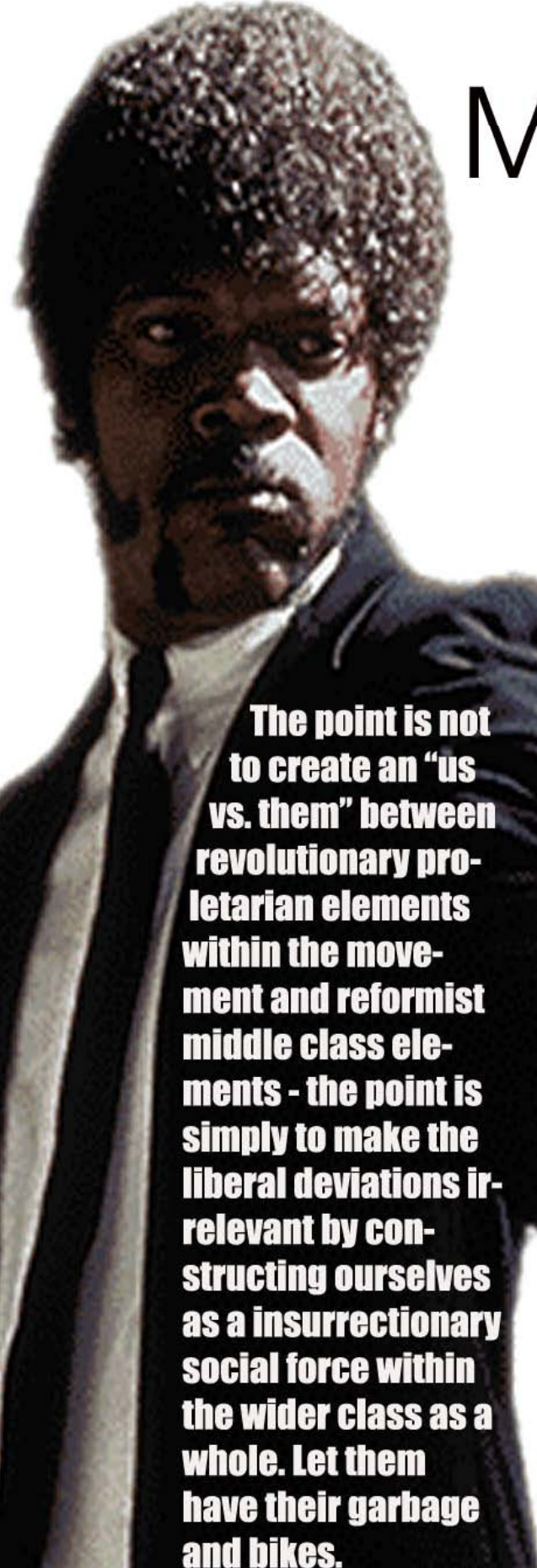
How's that for a fucking uplifting opener? First off, I want to say that the feedback that I got from *Vengeance* #1 was great. Even most of the critique that it received was largely a lot better than I thought it was going to be, and most people had mostly intelligent things to say in regards to the points that I was bringing up. I think the best part of the feedback, and the project in general, was the amount of people that wrote to me and said that what I was writing were things that they had always thought but were afraid to say before or had never had the chance to articulate. I think the fact that there can now be a move from the "I" to "we" is great. What *Vengeance* has shown is that there is a body of people within anarchism who are working class, have working class experiences, and want to articulate a working class anarchist resistance. Furthermore, *Vengeance* has shown that there are many who are fed up with the middle class ideological push of activism and liberalism that passes as anarchism in the United States and hunger for something more. Remember comrade, we, the proles within the revolutionary movement *have let them take this shit over*. We can blame the 60's, the hippies, or punk rock (actually the break with the working class goes back to WW II, but fuck it), but we cannot escape the reality that the proletarian movement as a conscious body of physical force against class society (and thus against itself as a class) has lain dormant for far too long and that the revolutionary movement has become a playground for the middle class. If we're pissed and not doing anything about it then we should shut the fuck up and go about attending the next shitty workshop or sit through another fucking stupid conversation about 'Steampunk' or something dumb. Where once there was bank robberies and general strikes, daily newspapers and running gun battles, now there is only constant bickering about boring things like veganism and endless seminars on bike repair. If this pisses you off you should do something about it. What are you waiting for? This is my intervention, what is yours?

The goal of this publication is still the same - to draw blood, to fuck shit up, to piss people off, and to build revolutionary proletarian culture. Already I'm hearing feedback from people who are starting to put some of these ideas into action and this excites me. It excites me because this is something real and tangible on the street, as I do not desire in any way to construct a new politics of identity around being 'working class,' nor do I wish to start seeing breakout meetings at gatherings and conferences where we get together and complain about people with trust funds and how we have to go to work or some shit. That comment also isn't a knock at workshops against white supremacy or people who talk about sexism during meetings - this is just me stating what I want to come out of this project. I want to see things that build our power and make us feel good while doing it. I'm interested in meeting others and actualizing our ideas through action. This to a certain degree is already starting, as publications like *Antioch Arrow* (East Bay CA) and *The Rebel* (Pacific Northwest) have also taken many of these concepts as their own and run with them. If feedback and response to this publication continues, I will continue to run with this project. Class society and sadly the United States anarchist movement itself gives me too much ammo that I can not help but load this gun and aim it at this fucking world. So for those picking this up for the first time, please, get in contact with me if this zine moves you - or if you want to talk about these ideas in greater detail - even if you disagree with them. I can be contacted at crudo_vengeance@hushmail.com or at myspace.com/crudomod (yes yes - kill yourself). I can also be contacted via snail mail at: Modesto Anarcho, PO Box 3027, Modesto, CA 95353. You can also check out my blog at wewillhaveourvengeance.blogspot.com. This desire for contact is not simply for face value or just something you put at the start of every zine - I would really like to talk to anyone who is moved by these ideas or anything that I have to say.

I do not wish to become a talking head, propose the start of an organization or some form of network (not that I'm opposed to such things), or become some sort of leader. Above all I wish to find people - to make connections with others; to create and build real friendships. I want to continue to turn this "I" into "we." We have shown that our experiences are important and shared by others; now it is time to turn that misery of our daily lives into action, into rage, into *vengeance*. Not only on this world, but on **this movement that claims so boldly that it will free us.**

You better rep that if you
gonna front that.

Well Then Allow Me to Retort...



"But as to what is typically considered an anarchist project (in the US). Forming bike collectives, Food Not Bombs chapters, collective houses, info-shops, ecetera, is very much the opposite as to what a project is in Europe, Canada, Chile and other continents. Where one going into these projects (that are typically not charity-esc types of activities that leftist, activists and radicals partake in out of a sense of humanity) with a critical analysis of what it is, that one is doing, an intentional beginning and focus and a direct confrontation with the existent (via Plan A or Plan)."

-Continual War: A Biannual Publication of Actions in the Northwest

This essay is an attempt to respond to not only the critics of *Vengeance* but also people who threw their weight behind it. I can not respond to those who claimed that *Vengeance* was angry and divisive to many - that was the point. I think that often to expand the margins you have to destroy the middle, which is what I set out to do. I might have used a blanket to put out the fire (who the fuck do I think I am, Oscar Wilde, fuck) but such is sometimes what is needed. Above all, people need to keep in mind that what I write in these pages comes largely (often completely) from my own experiences, so if you aren't feeling this, then perhaps your experiences are different.

The point is not to create an "us vs. them" between revolutionary proletarian elements within the movement and reformist middle class elements - the point is simply to make the liberal deviations irrelevant by constructing ourselves as a insurrectionary social force within the wider class as a whole. Let them have their garbage and bikes.

Something that I should have articulated in the first issue was that many anarcho-activist projects like Food Not Bombs, Critical Mass, etc, are not by default in their membership makeup "middle class;" or by simply engaging in them you are by default "middle class," etc.

My point was that their ideological backdrop is extremely middle class, as is the intentions that people approach them with. As proletarians, our only way forward is in conflict with the established order. The current system offers us nothing - we must fight it at all turns in order to gain freedom and agency over our lives. Again, engaging in a certain project does not make one middle class, just as digging a ditch for \$50 doesn't make one necessarily a prole - my point was to critique the intentions behind such projects as belonging to a middle class thought process. I try to dive into this concept in much more detail later on in this zine. I also try and explain in more detail what I mean by middle class thought processes that I

think have invaded the ways in which we perceive action and how to go about organizing projects. As my comrade Liam with the Institute for Experimental Freedom (IEF) wrote on the poverty of thought and action in the current movement in the *Earth First! Journal* piece, "Earth First! Means Social War":

"Presently, we are working toward only a radicalized version of the solutions presented in *An Inconvenient Truth*. Gore says, "You, individual, can use more compact florescent light bulbs, reduce your carbon dioxide emissions and recycle." We say, "You, individual, can ride a bicycle, eat trash, give up things and even punish those who don't." Although we have added a more militant moral character to our argument, the story remains the same: Individuals making moral choices will transform society. What's hidden within that narrative is an assumption that history and social change have been made by individuals."

My first major point of contention, was that for some reason I think a lot of people thought that I was glorifying drugs, gangs, and drug dealers. I found this humorous. As for gangs, I was not calling for the anarchist version of Norte or the Crips - I was calling for crews. I see a difference between the two, although perhaps for some people they did not. Crews are brought together by a sense of affinity and a shared project, culture, and ideas. Most, if not all, of the organized gang cliques out there are top down organizations based around black market capitalist enterprises. Drug dealers (at least the "big ones") are barriers to revolution, and represent the criminal wing of Capital, but a wing of Capital none the less. My point in rubbing elbows with the criminal underclass was simply that they are a pool of people to bounce ideas off of and gain information from. Also, far from glorifying drugs and alcohol, I was simply commenting on them and their hold over my friends and (sometimes mine) conversations and lives. Making reference to does not mean endorsement. Although, having said that, the line in which I state that we should have 'anarchist parties' where we get 'fucked up and burn something' was now looking back, probably pretty stupid. I guess I just end up at a lot of parties where there are fair amounts of anarchists at and that was on my mind at the time. I think we should have parties, and use social gatherings as a place to build a sense of "we" among our crews and also engage in certain things together. Of course, probably if we're doing something that could end us in the slammer, we should save the drinking and other shenanigans until afterward. Lastly on this note, problems with drinking and drug use is something that plagues a lot of working class people, and while I'm not about to go on a straight edge jihad (I drank throughout the writing of this text) let's be serious - we should really take care of ourselves as much as possible. Sure a lot of us smoke, drink, and get high to get through the day, but let us start to find other, more subversive ways to release stress than destroying ourselves. As comrade Nachie wrote in his zine, *Emotional Poverty* in regards to gangs and crew like organization:

"...our seeking out the most effective and natural ways to organize locally and network internationally...invariably [leads us to] the best examples [which] tend to come from modern-day street gangs, and while we cannot support destructive drug and criminal activities, it is undeniable that even the most ideologically vacant and misogynist crews have often achieved a higher standard of organizational cohesiveness than most anarchist groups. It is telling that many of today's largest gangs (such as the Crips) either began as local neighborhood defense associations to combat racist police, or took their cues from revolutionary groupings such as the Black Panthers. Thus it is important to understand that when we promote clothing, patches, and tattoos displaying our network's symbols, it comes not from within the cultures of punk fashion, but the tradition of being flagged out in your crew's colors."

One point that a lot of people seemed to not get, was my point about using our time to do things other than the standard fare of anarcho-activist projects like FNB or Critical Mass. I stand by this position. Many FNB type projects take up many many hours and sometimes are the sole thing that people can pull off during their week that they can do 'for the movement.' While of course I'm not opposed to people putting in a lot of work hours on a project, we have to ask ourselves if such projects which can take up to 4-8 hours a day to pull off are really the best way to spend the time of between 2-15 people who come together to complete a task. Think of everything else we could do with that amount of people and that amount of time on a focused project. What many projects like FNB and Critical Mass offer to those who come out and engage in them is a shared and continuous social ritual that is often devoid of a strategy towards building power. While shared rituals are often good and can give us a sense of ourselves as a "we," we should always ask ourselves if the projects we find so many of our rebel communities engaging in are the best use of our time - or if we could be using our collective time together working on other things. More specifically, we should always ask ourselves what the intentions behind such activities are - and if they are based on middle class illusions of "speaking truth to power" then we should drop them like a bad habit and do something more cooler.

Many people will retort, that projects like Critical Mass and FNB offer a "gateway" to other forms of activism that often does not end with Critical Mass and FNB. These projects they say are accessible and get people in the door and allow them to be exposed to anarchist ideas and anarchist forms of organization. Of course I would not disagree that such projects do do this; I am a product of this as many are. But, such projects often play on middle class sensibilities to "make a statement" to the established order that "cars are bad," "food is better than bombs," and that "sharing is good." Upon face value, there's nothing wrong with these sentiments, but they are all based upon articulating a message to power, not building class power for the sake of attack and autonomy.

While such projects like FNB may be a gateway, they are often a gateway for those that want to "do something," be activists, and engage in activity that in no way builds any sort of power within the class that can be used in any tangible way. Furthermore, they are often based upon such middle class and largely white interests and hobbies such as bike culture and veganism, to the point where they create a cultural filter that ensures that the makeup of the anarchist movement stays largely middle class and white. Again, comrade Nachie:

"Unfortunately, the romanticization of punk rock and "bicycle culture" has made it much more difficult for us all as a tendency to utilize or harness our historical tradition and its ongoing development as a weapon...My chief concern is that the symbolism and high value that we attach to what makes us comfortable is in fact a drain on our true ability and developmental obligation to resist, particularly when the mechanisms in question are being approached as sacrosanct pillars of a community which is supposedly in resistance as opposed to the more specific symptoms of the rebellions which they represent..."

I'm tired of looking towards those with peace sign tote bags at the local co-op as my constituency - I'm interested in talking with the junkies in the park, the guy I gave a ride to the gas station today and then to day care who almost started crying because things were so fucked up, the women at the shelter, and the people of color who tell us they can't go to certain parts of town at night because they're afraid of getting jumped...I'm tired of courting the Left, which is to say I'm tired of courting the middle class. Who cares if they come over to our side, I want to role with my proles.

Finally, I think something that we must resist as anarchists who want to impress upon this world our desires and needs as proles, is the urge to create a 'politics of identity' and become characters of ourselves. As stated in the first zine, being working class is about your relationship to the means of production and your position within class society, not how you dress and talk. Having said that, I took a lot of pot shots at anarchists simply on the way that they dress and other lifestyle choices. While many of these things ARE a sign of someone's class background, by my own logic, this is not the way to judge someone. Hmm....problematic! Furthermore, while dressing in a adidas track suits (which I find quite comfortable and stylish) may make us more accessible to 'non-anarchists' than the studded punk vest used to, we should resist the urge to create new uniforms. Furthermore, we should also keep in mind that for some, dress is a way to fuck gender and revolt against established norms. So, while it is funny to make fun of middle class kids dressed up like 19th Century industrialists and train operators, slagging off a whole group of people also opens the door to how we will define ourselves in opposition to them. If we are not them, then we are something else, and we in turn make ourselves into a new category that has its own cliches, monikers, and dress codes. We should not replace the Tragedy shirt for the hippie get up for the adidas tracksuit and the stolen sun

glasses and be done with it. None of this is truly what we are after. We should never be satisfied with the prole version of what is already fucked about middle class anarchism. We are after the intelligent and strategic unleashing of the class rage that we feel from the day to day grind. We are not after simply a new aesthetic, although it may help us distinguish ourselves from those we are alienated from. We are after working class power - let us always keep that in mind.



For all intents and purposes?

"Above all else, I want to acquire a method by which to increase my separation, to conquer the world by appropriating the network of class self-valorization. Every time I leap forward, I enlarge my existence as part of the collectivity. Every time I break capital's margins of valorization, I appropriate yet another space for workers' valorization. For the proletariat there are no vacuums. Every space left empty by the enemy is filled, occupied, appropriated, attack by an expansive force that has no limits...Nothing that I am saying means anything other than what I am saying, in terms of capitalist valorization overturned, or violence, mass action...Our method of social transformation can only be the method of *proletarian dictatorship*. Understood in its own terms: as a struggle for the extinction of the state, and for the total replacement of the capitalist mode of production by proletarian self-valorization and its collective process...In any event, sabotage as self-valorization is certainly not a law that would cease with the communist dictatorship that we are going to set up. No. It is instead a *law of freedom that, now and in the future, we conjugate with that of communism*."

Negri, *Books for Burning*

"It is easy for those who have never experienced extreme poverty and discrimination, never experienced imprisonment and the inhuman brutalisation that takes place there, to be moral purists about the behaviour of people that have – it's a middle class inclination and attitude based on ignorance, arrogance and a distaste of the poor, and it pervades the characters of some individuals who claim to retain not a trace of their middle class conditioning, like some "anarchists.""

John Bowden, *Fire to the Prisons*



I think that intentions are very important in anarchist projects - so important that I think that they are the basis for if I am going to decide if I have any sort of involvement or affinity with that project or not. I think knowing, affirming, and being honest about our intentions can also determine how we can work out tactics and then a strategy for how we go about our projects and how we relate to the outside world and broader communities and individuals. Personally, I am against many intentions behind many anarchist projects. Many of them do not interest me nor do I find any affinity with them. I have affinity with anarchist projects which seek to create class consciousness, build working class power, promote autonomous self-organization, promote direct action and insurrection, express revolutionary solidarity, and help critique the current totality.

It seems better to talk in examples at this point on. So let's begin. Let us start with Critical Mass; that seems to be an easy one. I'll actually be nice and start with some good intentions for Critical Mass. I think it is a good intention for Critical Mass to be a ride that acts as a social space where people can come together and meet and talk and interact with each other - I think another good intention for the ride would be to have fun. These are all different however than many of the intentions promoted by people who view Critical Mass as an 'anarchist project.' Reading through the pages of such newspapers as *Slingshot*, Critical Mass is promoted as a way to combat car culture, organize against 'oil wars,' and also promote alternative forms of transportation. Personally however, I don't think Critical Mass really does any of these things, especially things like combating war or stopping car culture. How does riding in a group of people on bikes at the same time of every month stop war? Sure, if you're part of a group during a demonstration that is fucking shit up and you help shut stuff down while you are on a bike during a Critical Mass I guess that can add to the general attack and disorder of the action against Capital. By meeting once a month to ride your bike with others doesn't, at least in my eyes, build towards a world without oil use or cars. It also doesn't seem to build any sort of autonomist power within the class as a whole for the purpose of attacking and suppressing class society and creating space for ourselves. Another thing to point out here, is that many of the political intentions behind projects like Critical Mass really are just simply liberal illusions of "making a statement" and "speaking truth to power." They aren't about attacking Capital or building some form of power, they are about articulating a "message" to the power structure and the wider public that things "are bad," "that bikes "are the solution," or perhaps we just "need more bike lines!" (if only the city was more efficient!). Also, if the positive things that comes out of such activities like Critical Mass is in fact the social space they create, then aren't there other ways we can be social and yet at the same time be dangerous? Aren't there other ways to meet people that don't include such a cultural filter? Aren't there ways that we can come together and do fun things and also bring the soc war? In Santa Cruz several years ago, gangs of people on bikes used to go around and slash the tires of SUVs in groups. I've also heard of Critical Mass groups causing disorder in Southern California grocery stores during labor disputes. These are all interesting ideas and take the general concept of Critical Mass and actually apply it to something that has tangible results that go beyond 'making statements' to a higher power. They articulate themselves in attacks and forms of solidarity. Let us move in this direction.

Food Not Bombs, my favorite. Again, people have many dif-

ferent intentions for doing a FNB project. Some people want to use it as a platform to build connections with other people and thus branch out into other forms of social struggle. Some people want to use it to create street cred in their communities for their various anarchist projects. Most however, want to use FNB as a vechical to "show people" how wasteful the system is, anarchist ideas in action, and to demonstrate that the government spends more on war than it does on food, or something like that. Many other people engage in FNB simply because it's a fun thing to do with friends and they also feel good about feeding people. Some (including myself at one point), even see FNB as something that will be continued "after the revolution," as thus see it as an institution of dual power. Again, I really only find affinity with the first two. For those looking to start food sharing programs for the sake of making contacts with others so they can better engage in struggle with more people, then an FNB styled project may be the start of making those connections with a certain community that you want to work in or with. Also, I think building street cred is important. The People's Bailout event in Modesto CA organized by Modesto Anarcho Crew was based around this idea. By appropriating large amounts of food and creating a space where people could get free groceries and other goods, having free literature and massive amounts of Modesto Anarcho lying around, and getting media attention that promoted the group, we helped to create a level of support for the Crew within the larger community. Things like street cred and making connections with people are important because they are part of a wider strategy that is based around action, intervention in social conflict, and gaining more power. But this of course is much different than what are the usual intentions that people start programs like Food Not Bombs. Many people start programs like FNB to "show people" something, either that capitalism is wasteful or that the government needs to spend more on things other than bombs. Showing people that capitalism is wasteful is always funny, because the people eating the food, the homeless in many cities where FNB exists, probably know more about this than those serving the meal. Personally speaking, I'm not interested in articulating such a message to people - I'm interested in building power and fostering confrontation and attack with Capital. People are bombarded everyday with more and more info on how fucked up things are. If we aren't articulating a message either through propaganda or through deed that by confronting this reality through active class action, then we are simply backing up the idea that change can only come through either the ballot box or through "voting with our dollars."

Generally the reasons that people start a FNB have nothing to do with their own needs and desires and also do very little in the way of either fighting poverty or stopping war. Like vigils organized by liberals, most FNBs turn into a 'quiet statement' against something that is seen as removed from where the meal is taking place. Without a larger strategy or level of organization behind such projects, the street cred that is gained by doing a FNB style program is often lost. It is great that you get so many people to show up to your free grocery program, but without a larger organized presence (like anarchists have done in LA with the group Revolutionary Autonomous Communities [RAC]), then that possible power gained dissipates as soon as the event is over. If these projects are to mean anything, they should be the start of a conversation about attack and confrontation with class society and the creation of the networks and solidarity that will be needed to carry out that attack. You want to start a food shar-

ing program fine, just don't let that togetherness that you've created completely disappate right after you put the food away and collect the dishes. What made community aid programs like the Free Breakfast Program organized by the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense so important in their communities, was that these programs were linked to a wider organization, strategy, and movement. The street cred that was gained through the free breakfast programs was channeled back into the organization. While I'm in no way calling for the creation of a hierarchal and centralized political party such as the Black Panthers, we do need to create communities, projects, and organizations that have staying power and which are firmly rooted in their communities. This is a concept lost on many anarchists, who often think that the act of sharing discarded or dumpstered food and clothing alone will suddenly warp people's minds to the point of radicalizing them. People give me ciggeretts all the time and help me push start my car once in a while - yet the world seems far from the brink of anarchist revolution or the realization of global communism. Mutual aid in of itself is part of the daily survival of working and poor people - what is needed is to push this urge into a movement that openly attacks and destroys the totality of Capital and its civilization. Again, comrade Liam on the importance of creating autonomous space:

"If we intend to genuinely change society, we must have space to experiment. It follows that our task is to locate the cracks in capitalism and exploit them—to materialize our social force, both through actions and insurgent gestures, while laying down physical foundations. As the economy begins to melt down, the need for inhabitable spaces will grow. We can open up the doors of possibility by literally opening up doors to locked buildings and by producing autonomous territories with ecologically sustainable systems, giving permaculture teeth."

Earth First! Journal, Earth First! Means Social War

I think many Copwatch programs also offer many opportunities for critique as well. Having sat through another viewing of "These Streets are Watching," (a documentary film about Copwatch, featuring footage from various chapters), I was struck by many of the liberal and middle class positions held by several (or course not all) Copwatch organizers and volunteers that I listened to. Some of those in the video articulated that the reason that they were doing Copwatch was that they wanted to make sure that the police were "doing their jobs" and to keep police from brutalizing people while doing "their job." I find this to be ironic and stupid, but it shows a larger idiocy that runs rampant through much of Left activism and sadly many anarchist projects. We cannot make the police do their jobs better, nor would we want to. Nor should our projects serve as a base of "citizen pressure," that seeks to make the police more humane and "fair." Our relationship to the police should always be one that is confrontational and adversarial (even if at times we can't be). Furthermore, the role of the police is always one based in brutality, either in the physical nature of their interactions with those that they meet or the threat of violence sanctioned by the state that they represent. We can't make the police more "fair" or make sure that they "do their jobs better," just as we can't make sure that the Sheriff evicting your family does the best job possible or that the ICE agent deporting your children does it nicely as possible. The police represent the real violence that is held by the ruling class and the nature of our relationship to the commodity based form - we aren't out to make them run smoother, we're out to build autonomy from them and destroy their power over our lives. This is also the same reason that I don't promote veganism of "light living" as an anarchist, even though I want to see the industries that are based off animal exploitation totally dismantled and would to some degree consider myself an animal liberationist. This is because veganism is primarily based on the idea that within the market change will come through purchasing power and the buying of certain commodities; or that by buying less we will bring about change. This is bullshit; morality within the capitalist marketplace is a lie. Sure I'll skip on the fore grais and veal on principle, but don't tell me that that Cliff bar isn't also caked in

blood, exploitation, and wrapped and shipped in oil. Likewise, the dillusions that many have toward such programs as Copwatch are a good indicator to the degree that anarchism has become based on the middle class ideas of making the system run better and smoother for the sake of making it "more fair." Capital can't be 'fair,' that's why it's Capital. Sure, it might be strategic to host Know Your Rights workshops or carry out Copwatch programs, but let us do so with the intention of building our own power in our own communities and taking power away from the police (or whatever). We should be the angry hoard outside the gates, (or perhaps the Guy Fawkes type secretly moving inside, you decide), not the Leftist lobby inside City Hall.

This intent to show people something, to blow their minds with the fact that capitalism is wasteful, killing animals is wrong, riding bikes is fun, that sharing is cool, or making the system be more fair, I find to be very middle class positions and based on liberal intentions. These intentions are based in the idea that the act alone of such projects will in themselves create change. These intentions are all based on the concept that once people know how to practice mutual aid, (or whatever), things will change. These intentions are based on the idea that slowly we can force the system to be more fair and thus progress to a genuine human community. I disagree. I don't think that we are slowly marching to utopia, nor do I think that we can "show people how to live," and thus change society. We can create autonomy and find comrades who want to do so as well. We can attack and hit back and find comrades who want to as well. We can act within social tensions and create larger ruptures and thus meet more comrades in doing so.

Some Ideas for Crew Based Activities

Squat a house or building that the crew can use to hold meetings, parties, a place to stay, and events. Work on the house together and build a sense of community there. Have nights where the crew goes into a building that is vacant just for the reason to watch a movie together or have a discussion about something. Consider squatting a house to use for an event in the larger community.

Squat houses and then link up with people and families that are homeless. Help them move into foreclosed/vacant homes. Start defense networks to keep these homes.

Go to foreclosure auctions and shut them down, delaying the foreclosure process. Contact those in preforeclosure and build networks that resist evictions. Direct rage against real estate and eviction offices.

Take food from the rich and give it out to people that need it in bags. Include anarchist publications and encourage people to take from the wealthy.

Read the newspapers of your local area daily if possible. When you hear of a strike or labor dispute, engage and intervene in that struggle. Go to the picket lines with food and revolutionary literature. Find ways that the workers are possibly resisting the bosses and also the union leadership. See if there are ways you can expand these activities, for instance, actions against scabs. Draft flyers and posters supporting the strike, calling on more people to join in and also giving a revolutionary anarchist/communist perspective. Create graffiti slogans which give support to the strike. Carry out actions that attack those involved in the strike and issue solidarity statements. If you have enough people, engage in marches throughout the city in solidarity with the strike, directing rage where possible.

Troll anti-immigrant and Neo-Nazi websites. Try and set up web accounts and gain the trust of organizers within certain organizations. If they are planning events or actions, organize against them. If you can find out where they live, out them to the community through home demonstrations and flyers. Organize militant confrontations with them encouraging the community at large to fight back against fascism and racism.

In the advent of some form of repression in the community, like for instance a police shooting, organize wheat-pasting teams that will cover neighborhoods in anti-police posters. Crews should make contacts in those communities and see if there are any ways that they can engage and intervene in a possible struggle against the police. If the police and/or liberals try and host forums or meetings that try and smooth over community relations between the pigs and the people they are attacking, disrupt, denounce, and also pass out literature at these events against not only the police and the reformists, but also articulate the need for insurrectionary action against them

Appropriate boxes that give out apartment and housing information and place them throughout the city. Get chains and locks to further secure them. Spray paint them with slogans and stock them with anarchist literature and magazines.

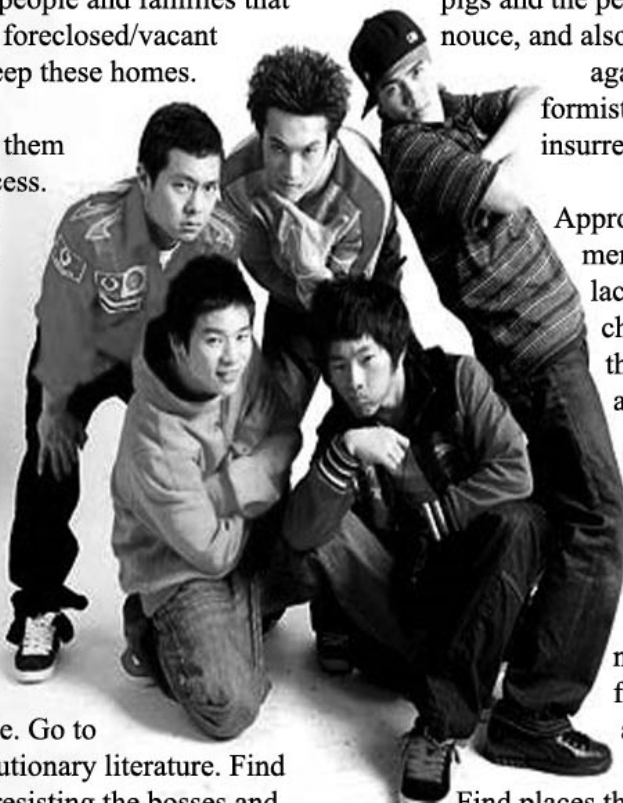
Appropriate banners from corporate stores and use the back side for revolutionary slogans. Make impressive banners to put up in neighborhoods, on fences, or on freeways. Use in demonstrations or at events.

Find places that youth like to hang out that are out of the reach (generally speaking) of the police and authorities. Organize block parties there, having free food, anarchist literature, skate ramps, break dancing areas, and music. Use this space as the starting point for unpermitted marches that attack points of misery.

Find places where people congregate and hang out and set up free literature and food tables. Use this space as a place to hang out but also engage with the public about your ideas. This is especially good for those that can't afford to create an infoshop in their town.

Map out the surveillance cameras in your city and destroy them.

Take over plots of land in working class neighborhoods and start gardens there. Encourage people to take back the land and grow their own food. Do the same with vacant



homes.

When something in your community goes down, or when you want to respond to something going on in the world, round up the crew for a night of graffiti action. Map out the best and most visible areas in the communities that you want to speak to. Your messages should be clear and easy to read, and also call on people to take action.

Using copy scams, send free literature into prisons. Make connections with prisons and aid them in their struggles inside.

At your workplace, discuss with co-workers about your various problems with the bosses and the job in general. Try and get everyone on the same page and encourage your fellow workers to steal and sabotage as much as possible. Discover who the snitches and those loyal to the bosses are. If you are thinking about taking action on the job, have other members of your crew engage in pickets while you and the rest of those at your workplace continue to work; thus avoiding the possibility of getting fired for striking. Then, talk with co-workers about going on wildcat strikes. Create flyers and banners to pass out to other workers and community members about your struggle.

When things go down in your community, respond by attacking enemies and then posting communiques on computers that do not require you to log in and where there are no video cameras recording your image. Post on websites like your local indymedia page, or on news.infoshop.org.

If you hear of a new yuppie development project that is coming to town to gentrify the neighborhood and kick people out, sabotage their construction sites and also organize to disrupt their open houses and opening parties. The more they are afraid, the less they will want to move into the neighborhood.

Organize a Copwatch styled group that patrols neighborhoods and attempts to deter or foster community intervention when police are accosting and harassing people (aka doing their job) on the street.

Set up pirate radio stations for the purpose of coordinating roving street parties and unpermitted marches. Use the radio stations to also play music over multiple radios to create a party atmosphere for your insurrection.

Fuck shit up when anti-abortionists try and organize marches and events. Defend women's and abortion centers.

Host benefit shows for a variety of causes.

Through the internet, download for free software programs and create publications that you can hand out to those in your

area.

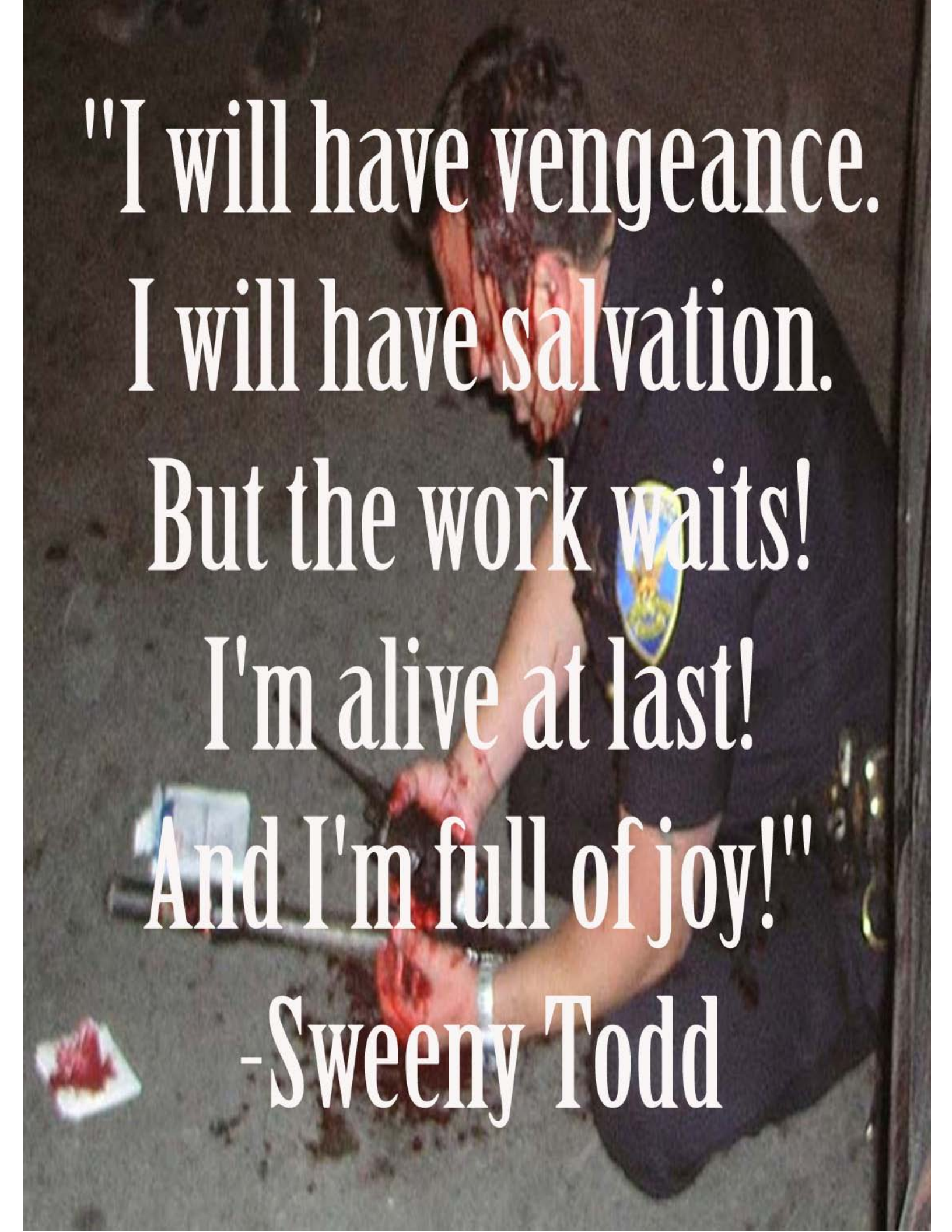
Contact local indigenous groups near you and participate in their struggles (if any). Find out if near by, (or far away), Native communities are resisting development projects, fighting for land, etc, and attempt to aid them in their struggle. Find out if various communities are being affected by something happening in your town.

Support a political prisoner near you by raising funds, making trips to see them, giving rides to their boyfriend or girlfriend, or by sending them letters. Organize political prisoner letter writing nights; create a community that supports prisoners.

Aid economic migrants ('illegal immigrants') by organizing and attacking detention centers and making their existence public. Participate in immigrant struggles.

Remember: all work and no play makes our crews possibly boring activist ghettos. Have fun days where crew members can hang out together and build affinity. Have meetings as often as needed to discuss taking action and support people in their day to day struggles. As crews, support each other by getting various needs met, and helping each other get their day to day needs met.

Start a community fund to support those that are arrested for shoplifting or facing jail time. Train together. Quit smoking together. Cook meals together, Discuss things together. But above all be *bad ass proletarian motherfuckers*.



"I will have vengeance.
I will have salvation.
But the work waits!
I'm alive at last!
And I'm full of joy!"
-Sweeny Todd

We listened as this older socialist lady at the demonstration told us that the anarchists had sold out and that they were all supporting Nader. That all the anarchists had given up on the class struggle and that they were all middle class anyway. Angry and confused, we headed to Bound Together, an anarchist bookstore on Haight Street. We told the older man at the counter about our day and what the person had said to us. He leaned across the counter, looked us in the eyes, and asked, "Well, what do you boys do?" We replied that one of us worked at a fast food place and that the other was a janitor. "You sound pretty working class to me," he replied dryly, as he rang up our books and magazines. No one had ever said anything like this to me before. I had never conceived of myself as such. I always thought that the working class was some mythical bloc out there, or something that had existed magically in the past; not something that I was a part of and had an agency within. Not even in all my copies of Northeastern Anarchist and Green Anarchy had I ever come across this concept. That I too had a reason to riot, to fight back, to revolt. That the terrain of conflict wasn't just at Huntington Life Sciences and on Market Street when ANSWER called a protest, but in the day to day realities of my very life. What he said that day stayed with me. No matter those slaughtered at Ludlow, put to death in Chicago, and murdered on the barricades in Spain, Mexico, and the Ukraine; no matter those killed in their beds and jail cells like Magon, Hampton, and Rogers; no matter those repressed, beaten, and attacked in Oaxaca, Greece, South Korea, and across the world; the working class would never die because class society continues to produce its contradiction and its negation: proletarians. A confused punk kid walked into that bookstore that day - but what came out was a working class youth ready to take on this fucking world. For power. For autonomy. For vengeance.

